

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 SS-15 L-03 INR-10 RSR-01 RSC-01 EB-11

SCI-06 /062 W

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R 200855 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4696

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 7750

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E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR EGEN OCON JA

SUBJ: NIXON/ TANAKA SUMMIT BACKGROUND PAPER - I: US OBJECTIVES

1. EMBASSY BELIEVES FORTHCOMING WASHINGTON SUMMIT MEETING OFFERS UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY TO REAFFIRM THE BASICS OF THE US- JAPAN RELATIONSHIP WHILE PROMOTING INCREASED INTERDEPENDENCE WITH JAPAN ON TERMS THAT REFLECT CHANGING WORLD SITUATION.

2. THE SUMMIT WILL CULMINATE AN INTENSIVE AND HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE SERIES OF CONSULTATIONS WITH THE GOJ SINCE THE KUILIMA MEETING, MOST RECENTLY THE MAY 7 TRADE TALKS IN WASHINGTON AND THE SECURITY SUBCOMMITTEE AND PLANNING TALKS IN TOKYO. THESE CONSULTATIONS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO A GROWING MUTUAL APPRECIATION OF THE NATURE OF BILATERAL ECONOMIC, SECURITY, AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS, AND THEY HAVE PREPARED THE GROUND FOR FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD THEIR RESOLUTION. HOPEFULLY, THE ECONCOM ON JULY 16-17 WILL CARRY THIS PROCESS ONE STEP FURTHER, AND THE EMBASSY HAS RECENTLY PROPOSED THAT WE UTILIZE THOSE MEETINGS TO SHIFT THE FOCUS AWAY FROM BILATERAL ECONOMIC ISSUES TO THE WIDER MULTILATERAL CONTEXT OF OUR RESPECTIVE INTERESTS AND, IN PARTICULAR, TO THOSE AREAS WHERE WE CAN INITIATE AND EXPAND OUR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS. AT THE SUMMIT WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD SEEK TO STRENGTHEN THIS FOCUS BY EMPHASIZING THE LARGER POLITICAL DIMENSION OF THESE COOPERATIVE APPROACHES ALONG LINES SUGGESTED IN DR KISSINGER'S APRIL 23 SPEECH ON THE ATLANTIC CHARTER CONCEPT.

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ONE FACTOR WE MUST BEAR IN MIND IS THE PRECARIOUS SITUATION IN WHICH JAPAN'S CONSERVATIVE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP NOW FINDS ITSELF, HARASSED BY A LEFT OPPOSITION WHICH IS EMBOLDENED BY THE CONTINUING EROSION OF POPULAR SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC PARTY. AS A RESULT OF SEVERE BUFFETING IN THE DIET AND A SERIES OF ELECTORAL SETBACKS IN RECENT MONTHS PRIME MINISTER TANAKA WILL APPROACH THE SUMMIT MEETING EAGER TO DRAMATIZE TO THE JAPANESE PUBLIC HIS EFFECTIVE STEWARDSHIP OF THE US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP. HE WILL ALSO BE HOPING TO LEARN MORE ABOUT THE PRESIDENT'S BROAD POLICY APPROACH TOWARD PENDING TRADE AND MONETARY NEGOTIATIONS. IN VIEW OF HIS PROSPECTIVE TRIPS TO THE USSR, WESTERN EUROPE, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA DURING THE NEXT SIX TO EIGHT MONTHS, THE PRIME MINISTER WILL WANT TO COORDINATE APPROACHES WITH THE US. GIVEN THESE CONSIDERATIONS WE BELIEVE THAT THE SUMMIT SHOULD BE UTILIZED TO (1) ACKNOWLEDGE THE TANGIBLE PROGRESS ACHIEVED IN REDUCING THE BILATERAL TRADE DEFICIT AND ADJUSTING SECURITY RELATIONS OVER THE PAST YEAR; (2) ATTEMPT TO DEFINE WITH GREATER PRECISION AGREED PRINCIPLES FOR APPROACHING MULTILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS ON TRADE LIBERALIZATION, MONETARY REFORM, AND COOPERATION IN ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT, AND RAW MATERIAL DEVELOPMENT; (3) CLARIFY FOR THE JAPANESE OUR IDEAS REGARDING THE AIMS OF AND MODALITIES FOR DEVELOPING AN "ATLANTIC CHARTER" IN SUCH A WAY AS TO ENCOURAGE JAPAN'S CONSTRUCTIVE PARTICIPATION; AND (4) ASSURE THE CONTINUING COMPATIBILITY OF US AND JAPANESE APPROACHES TO THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA, AND WESTERN EUROPE DURING THE PERIOD OF INTENSIVE SUMMIT DIPLOMACY THAT LIES AHEAD. MORE SPECIFICALLY WE BELIEVE US POLICY OBJECTIVES SHOULD INCLUDE:

A. GENERAL. A MUTUAL REAFFIRMATION OF THE IMPORTANCE OF THE US-JAPAN RELATIONSHIP TO THE INTERESTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES, STRESSING THAT THE RELATIONSHIP IS A DYNAMIC ONE RESPONSIVE TO CHANGES IN THE WORLD SITUATION, THAT SIGNIFICANT ADJUSTMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN AREAS OF PAST FRICTION, AND THAT THE FUTURE EVOLUTION OF THIS RELATIONSHIP MUST ENCOURAGE AND REFLECT HOPEFUL TENDENCIES TOWARD DETENTE IN ASIA AND THE INCREASINGLY EXTENSIVE PATTERNS OF INTERDEPENDENCE WITHIN THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES OF WESTERN EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA, AND JAPAN.

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B. SECURITY. WITH REGARD TO OUR SECURITY RELATIONSHIP WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE CONTINUING IMPORTANCE OF THE TREATY IN PRESERVING ESSENTIAL STABILITY AND PROMOTING DETENTE IN ASIA AND THE FLEXIBILITY OF THE TREATY AND ITS ARRANGEMENTS AS INSTRUMENTS WHICH CAN ACCOMMODATE TO A CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. WE SHOULD ALSO NOTE THE NUMBER OF BASE CONSOLIDATION MOVES CURRENTLY UNDERWAY AND OUR INTENTION JOINTLY TO PROMOTE

CONTINUING GRADUAL AND RATIONAL CONSOLIDATION OF OUR PRESENCE, PARTICULARLY IN OKINAWA. WE SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF CONSULTATIVE MECHANISMS ( SCC, SSC, SCG) IN ASSURING THE " SMOOTH AND EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION" OF THE TREATY AS PLEDGED BY THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER AT KUILIMA. WE SHOULD URGE JAPAN TO CONSIDER SERIOUSLY THE EXTENT TO WHICH IT CAN, IN THE LIGHT OF ITS GROWING STRENGTH AND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NIXON DOCTRINE, DO MORE TO SHARE RESPONSIBILITY FOR MEETING OUR MUTUAL SECURITY INTERESTS. IN THIS LATTER RESPECT WE SHOULD REAFFIRM THAT THE US IS PRODDING JAPAN NEITHER TOWARD A FURTHER ACCELERATION OF ITS DEFENSE BUILDUP, NOR THE ASSUMPTION OF AN OVERSEAS MILITARY ROLE. RATHER, THE EMPHASIS SHOULD , IN OUR VIEW, BE ON ENCOURAGING ADDITIONAL DEFENSE PURCHASES, ESPECIALLY THOSE LEADING TO A MORE SUBSTANTIAL JAPANESE INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEFENSE OF JAPAN, E. G. ASW OR AEW AIRCRAFT, WHILE PERHAPS FLOATING OTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR SHARING RESPONSIBILITIES, E. G., GOJ ASSUMPTION OF ADDITIONAL LOCAL HIRE LABOR EXPENSES. THE OBJECTIVE WOULD NOT BE TO TIE DOWN SPECIFIC ARRANGEMENTS BUT TO LEND IMPETUS TO IDEAS ALREADY BEING DISCUSSED AT WORKING LEVELS WITHIN OUR RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS.

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SCI-06 /062 W

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R 200855 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4697

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 TOKYO 7750

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C. ECONOMIC RELATIONS. WE SHOULD TAKE NOTE OF THE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS MADE IN GIVING EFFECT TO THE DESIRE EXPRESSED AT THE LAST SUMMIT MEETING TO REDUCE THE BILATERAL TRADE DEFICIT " TO A MANAGEABLE SIZE WITHIN A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME" AND AFFIRM OUR MUTUAL DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE THOSE EFFORTS IN THE FUTURE. WE SHOULD UNDERScore THE BROAD MUTUALITY OF OUR ECONOMIC

INTERESTS IN TRADE LIBERALIZATION AND MONETARY REFORM AND SEEK TO REFINE AGREED PRINCIPLES FOR APPROACHING PENDING NEGOTIATIONS. WE SHOULD SEEK TO ELABORATE FURTHER POSSIBILITIES FOR BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN ASSURING STABLE LONG- RANGE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS, E. G. JOINT RESEARCH PROJECTS, JOINT VENTURES IN THE ENERGY DEVELOPMENT FIELD, AND EMERGENCY PLANNING. WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK ENDORSEMENT FOR FUTURE BILATERAL ENERGY CONSULTATIONS TO SUPPLEMENT DISCUSSIONS TAKING PLACE WITHIN THE OECD FRAMEWORK. WE SHOULD CLARIFY OUR OWN INTENTIONS AND PROSPECTS ( IN THE LIGHT OF CONGRESSIONAL MISGIVINGS) FOR PROVIDING AID TO NORTH VIETNAM, AND COORDINATE APPROACHES TO PROVIDING ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE TO THE OTHER INDOCHINESE COUNTRIES. MORE BROADLY, WE SHOULD REGISTER OUR INTEREST IN CONTINUING TO COOPERATE CLOSELY IN THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE FIELD, AND OUR HOPE THAT THE JAPANESE CAN ACCELERATE MOVEMENT TOWARD THE ESTABLISHMENT OF STANDARD LOAN TERMS, EXPANDED ODA, AND AID- UNTYING. WE SHOULD HIGHLIGHT THE NEED FOR US BUSINESSMEN TO EXPAND THEIR EXPORT PROMOTION EFFORTS IN RELATION TO JAPAN AND THE UTILITY TO THE GOJ OF ADDITIONAL IMPORT PROMOTION AS A MEANS OF COPING WITH INFLATIONARY PRESSURES.

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WE WILL WANT TO AVOID CONVEYING TO THE JAPANESE THE IMPRESSION THAT US SATISFACTION WITH RECENT PROGRESS IN REDUCING THE TRADE DEFICIT IMPLIES ACCEPTANCE OF THE STATUS QUO, BY KEEPING SOME PRESSURE ON THE GOJ IN CERTAIN SPECIFIC AREAS OF BILATERAL TRADE, E. G. DEFENSE PROCUREMENT, AGRICULTURAL QUOTAS.

D. POLITICAL. OUR MAJOR OBJECTIVE HERE SHOULD BE TO ENCOURAGE THE JAPANESE TO PARTICIPATE CONSTRUCTIVELY IN AUE DEFINITION OF SHARED AIMS OF THE ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL NON- COMMUNIST NATIONS BY PUTTING FLESH ON THE BONES OF THE ATLANTIC CHARTER IDEA. BEYOND THIS, WE BELIEVE THE SUMMIT PROVIDES A TIMELY OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE PERSPECTIVES ON FUTURE US AND JAPANESE PLANS FOR DEVELOPING RELATIONS WITH THE RUSSIANS AND CHINESE, TO EXCHANGE ASSESSMENTS OF THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN INDCHINA, AND TO COORDINATE APPROACHES FOR DEALING WITH THE KOREAN PROBLEM.

E. SCIENCE. FOR PURPOSES OF DRAMATIZING THE FURTHER EXTENSION OF INTERDEPENDENCE IN OUR RELATIONS, WE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO SIGN THE ENVIRONMENTAL AGREEMENT AT THE SUMMIT, AND SHOULD NOTE IN THE COMMUNIQUE OUR INTENT TO MODERNIZE AND UPGRADE ARRANGEMENTS FOR CONSULTATION AND EXCHANGES, E. G. MODERNIZING THE USJNR FRAMEWORK FOR COOPERATION ON NATURAL RESOURCE PROBLEMS.

F. COMMUNICATIONS GAP. THE GOJ HOPES TO ANNOUNCE AT THE SUMMIT THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NDW FUND FOR CHAIRS TO JAPANESE STUDIES AT KEY US UNIVERSITIES. WE SHOULD STRIVE TO MAKE A

RECIPROCAL PLEDGE TO USE CERTAIN GARIOA FUNDS FOR AMERICAN  
STUDIES IN JAPANESE UNIVERSITIES, OR AT LEAST ENUNCIATE OUR  
INTENT TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION.

3. IN ORDER TO PROVIDE MORE DETAILED BACKGROUND ON AND SUGGESTED  
APPROACHES TO SPECIFIC MAJOR ISSUES LIKELY TO ARISE, THERE  
WILL FOLLOW BY SEPTELS SLUGGES TANAKA BACKGROUND PAPER,  
A SERIES OF INDIVIDUAL ASSESSMENTS.  
SHOESMITH

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* STADIS  
\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* SECRET

## Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** Z  
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**Channel Indicators:** n/a  
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED  
**Concepts:**  
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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 20 JUN 1973  
**Decaption Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Authority:** elyme  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 28 MAY 2004  
**Disposition Event:**  
**Disposition History:** n/a  
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**Original Previous Classification:** n/a  
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**Page Count:** 5  
**Previous Channel Indicators:**  
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** STADIS  
**Reference:** n/a  
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED  
**Review Authority:** elyme  
**Review Comment:** n/a  
**Review Content Flags:**  
**Review Date:** 05 NOV 2001  
**Review Event:**  
**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
**Review History:** RELEASED <05-Nov-2001 by elbezefj>; APPROVED <07-Nov-2001 by elyme>  
**Review Markings:**

Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
30 JUN 2005

**Review Media Identifier:**  
**Review Referrals:** n/a  
**Review Release Date:** n/a  
**Review Release Event:** n/a  
**Review Transfer Date:**  
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a  
**Secure:** OPEN  
**Status:** <DBA CORRECTED> srp 980217  
**Subject:** NIXON/ TANAKA SUMMIT BACKGROUND PAPER - I : US OBJECTIVES  
**TAGS:** EGEN, OCON, PFOR, JA, n/a  
**To:** EA  
**SECSTATE WASHDC**  
**Type:** TE  
**Markings:** Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005